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your vagina is delicious," but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'grasginess' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, becomes formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayuga, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayuga practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayuga guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayuga house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently: if it is a Cayuga canoe, excited whispers are heard "/ɛ:ɛ:ɛ:/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Concepcion, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Borrero Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thereafter at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense intergenerational relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents [Whiting and Child 1962:267].

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existance of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Forenta, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it would seem that some informants could only unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible homoerotic feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-anthropologist relation does. When I would begin to use other informants, as an anthropologist must, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and pout: he would gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "ramarada complex" described by Ruben E. Reina for Chinautla in Guatemala (Reina 1959:44-50).

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A similar situation was revealed in the matter of giving rides in my motorized canoe whenever I went on long trips. For example, Lorenzo Martín once asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, broadly enough to take account of Cayapa casualness regarding time. He never arrived at all! When next seen he said that I should have waited much longer than I did, and he was clearly offended that I had not. At another occasion, he came

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the fegelio Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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